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Besides the accounts of diseases and their cures already given I have considerable information regarding medicine plants and their uses in diseases for which I have no native explanation, although in some cases the name of the plant probably contains the supposed cause of the disease. The greater number of these were obtained from Jackson Lewis, another portion was from a Wĭogufki Indian named Caley Proctor, a brother of the leader of the "Snake Indians," Eufaula Hadjo. He stated that he learned these things from an old Indian named Nokos ĭmała just before he died. To this I have added what I could learn among the Alabama of Texas, and some information from one of the few surviving Natchez Indians. The former varies somewhat from the rest on account of a difference in the Texas flora, while the latter has probably absorbed a great deal from the Cherokee among whom the surviving speakers of Natchez are living. A certain disorder was injected into Creek medical practice by the removal of the tribe west of the Mississippi, though Eakins's statement that "The roots and herbs they were accustomed to use in the '*old nation*' they have not yet been able to discover in their new country," must not be interpreted in a too sweeping manner.[36]

For the identification of the various plants I am indebted to Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the United States National Museum.

1. Miko hoyanĭdja (a species of *Salix*, willow), "passer by of the chiefs," the medicine being supposed to pass by of its own power (G. W. G.) or perhaps "sovereign purgative." This is one of the two great busk medicines and as a remedy seems to have been thought more of than the pasa. It is known colloquially as the "red root," the roots of some being blood red and others pale red. Jackson Lewis said that it was used as part of the medicine in a great many complaints, such as fever with nausea and vomiting. According to Caley Proctor it was put in water and drunk by the patient, either cold or hot, in cases of internal fever, malaria, and biliousness. According to another informant it was used as "a graveyard medicine"—i. e., as he explained it, a medicine for dropsy—and also to cure the deer sickness. The patient was also bathed in it. It was used in conjunction with the spicewood (kȧpapāskȧ) in cases of rheumatism and swellings. According to another informant the miko hoyanĭdja and pasa together will cure "the clap" almost immediately. Eakins says simply that it was used in fevers.[36]

2. Pāsa. This is the "buttonsnake-root" of the whites, also sometimes called "bear grass," and its scientific name is *Eryngium yuccaefolium*. The Natchez called it awe'lwaih; the Koasati pase'. As above noted, it was the second of the two important busk medicines. Its use in conjunction with miko hoyanĭdja has been mentioned. According to Caley Proctor, it was pounded up, mixed with water and drunk cold in cases of neuralgia and in kidney

[36] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 274.

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•757 troubles. It was also administered in cases of snake bite, and Jackson Lewis gave this as its principal use, in which he is confirmed by as old an authority as Adair.[37] Jackson Lewis added that it was used in conjunction with the "deer potato" in cases of rheumatism. Zachariah Cook said it was used for diseases of the spleen. According to another informant it was a great medicine to cleanse the system and purify the blood, and still another declared that its function at the busk was not so much to combat positive diseases as to produce a feeling of peace and tranquillity, an access of health as it were. Swan and other early writers, however, call this "the war physic."[38] Adair says "they frequently drink it to such excess as to impair their health, and sometimes so as to poison themselves by its acrid quality."[39] The Alabama and Koasati swallowed small sprouts of this plant in spring in order to make themselves strong and healthy during the ensuing year.

3. Hilis hátki, "white medicine." This is ginseng and it was a very highly esteemed remedy. Caley Proctor said that when one suffered from shortness of breath the roots of this plant were cut up and put into boiling water and the infusion drunk. It was not used externally. Jackson Lewis also mentioned its use in cases of shortness of breath, and he added croup in children and a very low general condition. It constituted one of the elements in many compound remedies and generally relieved the patient. When a person was sick with fever and could not sweat new ginseng was boiled with ginger, then both were mixed with alcohol and a little given to the patient, when sweat would break out all over him. It was also used, according to both Caley Proctor and Jackson Lewis, to stop the flow of blood from a cut. The latter by its means cured a woman who had been shot in the head. Before applying the medicine in such cases the wound was cleaned out by the use of the long wing feather of a buzzard. At that time no one must be near, especially no woman, and above all a woman at the time of her monthly period. Elsewhere I have mentioned its employment to keep away ghosts, and Adair says "the Indians use it on religious occasions."[40]

Caley Proctor gave me the following formula used over this medicine in cases of shortness of breath:

nokĭ' [illegible] nokĭ' le'slai saiatĭ'
nokĭ' lesfánk saiatĭ' kaka' kaka'

It is not known whether the words have any meaning. When this medicine is used to stop the flow of blood from cuts the following meaningless formula is hummed:

katadâs howē' kati lanidĭ'
apátánalanidĭ' saii

[37] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 103.
[38] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 268.
[39] Adair, op. cit., pp. 102–103.
[40] Ibid., p. 362. It was employed, for instance, during the busk at Kasihta (see p. 576).

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4. Notosa. This is the angelica, the roots of which were used in various physical ailments. Bartram calls it "the angelica lucida or nondo," and says "it is in high estimation with the Indians as well as with the white inhabitants, and sells at a great price to the Southern Indians of Florida, who dwell near the sea coast where this never grows spontaneously."[41] In another place he remarks that "its friendly carminitive qualities are well known for relieving all the disorders of the stomach, a dry belly-ache and disorders of the intestines, colic, hysterics, etc. The patient chews the root and swallows the juice, or smokes it when dry with tobacco. Even the smell of the root is of good effect. The Lower Creeks (Seminole), in whose country it does not grow, will gladly give two or three buckskins for a single root of it."[42] According to Jackson Lewis it was given to children as a vermifuge and to adults to alleviate pains in the back.

5. Wilāna. This is the wormseed (*Chenopodium ambrosioides*). It was used to purify the busk ground and in the final cleansing of the fasters at that time. According to Caley Proctor it was a kind of family medicine, apparently a sort of spring tonic, and was also used in cases of fever. Jackson Lewis said it was employed in a great many ailments.

6. Atcina, cedar. According to Caley Proctor cedar was used as a spring tonic, to thin the blood. The Alabama in Texas bandaged it, after it had been boiled, over a place where there were rheumatic pains. According to Jackson Lewis the sprigs and leaves were applied warm to places where pains and aches were felt. It was not taken internally.

7. Kapapāska, spicewood (*Benzoin aestivale*). When pains and aches were experienced an infusion was made of the branches and taken internally or the body steamed in the liquid in order to produce a perspiration. It was also taken in conjunction with miko hoyanīdja to produce vomiting, "which after some time purifies the blood greatly." Sometimes it was used as we use tea.

8. Kofŭtcka łako, horsemint (a species of *Monarda*). The entire plant was used in an infusion in order to bring on a perspiration. When one was delirious he could be cured by the use of horsemint and everlasting boiled together and administered internally. According to Caley Proctor it was boiled with miko hoyanīdja to cure dropsy and swellings in the legs. The patient drank it hot and also bathed in it. The Alabama called it tcinok tilaile, and it was used after a person had died, to ward off the rheumatism which was likely to ensue and also to cure all kinds of rheumatism. It was mixed with cold water, conjured by the doctor, and then each member of the household washed his body in it up to the ears, besides drinking some. It was used on the morning or evening after the death and was for protection against the ghost of the dead, which otherwise might afflict one with deafness.

[41] Bartram, Travels, p. 320.
[42] Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, p. 47.

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•757 9. Kadohwa, honey locust. This is used not to cure disease but to ward it off. The sprigs, thorns, and some of the branches are chopped up quite fine and boiled in water. After the infusion has been thoroughly boiled the members of the family bathe in it to ward off contagions such as smallpox and measles. It should be employed for four successive days.

10. Ala (Alabama ayona), buckeye (*Aesculus*). This is a very strong medicine and but little can be taken at a time. The roots are employed in cases of pulmonary consumption. It is also used to stupefy fishes.

11. Aloniski or holoniski, the devil's shoestring (*Cracca virginiana*). Jackson Lewis said that this was used in the same way as the buckeye and for the same purpose. Caley Proctor said that eight roots were pounded up, mixed with water, and the resultant infusion drunk cold in cases of bladder trouble. Together with yelungadjādi it was used in cases of loss of manhood, being prepared in the same manner. Like the preceding, it was employed to stupefy fish.

12. Adokłà làsti, "black weed" (*Baptisia*), has a papilionaceous flower, yellow in color, and grows in clumps to a height of 2½ to 3 feet. The roots of this plant were boiled in water and administered to children who seemed drowsy and lifeless and on the point of coming down with some sickness. They were bathed in it and a little was given to them to drink.

13. Tcato hiliswa, "rock medicine," grows in clumps and has a beautiful blue flower which appears early in spring. The roots are hard to get out and are as bitter as quinine. It was not used like the other medicines but apparently only when the old medicine men were making the novices fast.

14. Yanasa hiliswa, "bison medicine." It was formerly customary to put some medicine made from the roots of this on the tongue of a newborn child to make him strong, robust, and daring. Some of it grows in the old Choctaw country.

15. Tcito yektca hiliswa, "medicine of the strong snake" (sarsaparilla). The roots were used when there was difficulty in urinating and blood was passed and there was pain about the lower part of the abdomen and in the back. Eakins says they resorted to it in cases of pleurisy.[42] The Choctaw and Chickasaw also use it, but they have a different name for the plant.

16. Sokha hiliswa, "hog medicine," boneset (apparently). When women complained of aches and pains in the hips they were steamed in a medicine made by boiling this. The Choctaw and Chickasaw called it cilup tilèli, which means "something to scare away the spirits." A decoction was made from the roots and when persons had epilepsy they were steamed in it.

[42] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 274.

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17. Tuhiligu, mistletoe (*Phoradendron flavescens*). The leaves and branches were used as one of the ingredients in medicines for lung trouble, consumption, etc.

18. Akhātka, "white down in" (the bottom), the sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*). Chips from the tree and bark were used to make a medicine taken internally in cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. The following three medicines were used for the same purpose:

19. Aktcelalāskà the white birch (*Betula*) of Oklahoma.

20. Tculi niha, (yellow) "pine rosin."

21. Hikûlwà, the black gum (*Nyssa*). The bark and chips of the wood were boiled and the decoction taken internally, or else the patient was bathed in it.

22. Tawa tcāti, "red sumac." This is the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*). The roots were boiled and the infusion taken internally in cases of dysentery. It was the leaves of this variety which they formerly mixed with their smoking tobacco, and Pope says "this preparation of *Sumach* and *Tobacco*, the *Indians* constantly smoke, and consider as a sovereign Remedy in all cephalic and pectoral Complaints." [1]

23. Tawa lâsti, "black sumac" (*Rhus copallina*). The roots were used like those of the preceding.

24. Ahwāna, willow (Alabama, ito loica). The roots were boiled in water and the infusion kept in the house in the summertime so that the family might bathe in it and drink it and thereby ward off fevers.

The Texas Alabama used this to cure fevers. The roots were put into cold water, and the doctor came every morning for four mornings and blew into the infusion, after which the patient drank of it and bathed in it all over.

25. Ki, mulberry (*Morus rubra*) (Alabama, bihala). The roots were used as an emetic. The Texas Alabama boiled and drank an infusion of these roots four or five times a day in cases of weakness accompanied by the passage of very yellow urine.

26. Tcoskà, post oak (*Quercus stellata*). The bark is used to make a drink which Jackson Lewis used in cases of dysentery. Other physicians employed it in various other ways, but he did not know how.

27. Pâkānaho, the wild plum (*Prunus*). The roots were boiled in water, and the infusion was taken internally in cases of dysentery.

28. Itco impâkānà, "deer's apple," a kind of wild crabapple (*Malus*). Jackson Lewis believed he had cured numerous persons of hydrophobia by taking the patient as soon as possible after he had been bitten, boiling some of this until a strong decoction had been made, and having the patient drink frequently of it, besides bathing him in the liquid and steaming the wound with it.

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[1] Pope, Tour, p. 46.

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29. Tâfŏso, elm (*Ulmus*). Jackson Lewis knew that this was used in cases of toothache and he thought that the branches were taken, but there was a secret about its use which the doctors who knew about it did not divulge and he was not acquainted with it.

30. Pâlko łâko, "big grape," the "summer grape." The use of this in snake bite has been mentioned already.[45] It was also employed in cases of tonsilitis, when the tendrils were steeped in hot water and cloths put into this and bound about the throat. With it must be little parings of ginseng.

31. Hayopalĭdjâ łâko, the wild rose. The roots were boiled and administered internally to women when they were irregular in their periods.

32. Hayopalĭdjâ tcutci, a dwarf variety of wild rose. The roots of this were used with sumac in cases of dysentery. Either this or the preceding was employed by the Natchez in similar cases. My informant could not recall the Natchez name, but it is named in Cherokee tsistuunigist uhsti, "little rabbit food."

33. Taldakâ, cottonwood (*Populus*). When an arm or leg had been broken cottonwood bark was boiled and the resulting liquid poured over the fractured part. Splints were made from the inner bark of this tree and it is asserted that the bone would then knit very soon. It was also used when ankles or other joints were sprained. If this tree is identical with the ito tâsikaya, or "warrior tree," it was also used in cases of dropsy, when the patient was bathed in an infusion made by boiling the roots.

34. Adâphâ, dogwood (*Cornus*). Jackson Lewis had seen this used but had never employed it himself and had forgotten the nature of its supposed virtues. The Texas Alabama, however, boiled the inner bark of the dogwood and used it in cases of flux.

35. Imbâkbâki tcati, "red blossoms," a plant growing in clumps in Oklahoma, with strong, rough, tuberous roots which are used as medicine in cases of pneumonia and to bring on perspiration and secure a reaction in what is called "winter fever." The bunches of this plant sometimes have red flowers and sometimes yellow ones.

36. Tinetki hilaswa, "thunder medicine," has very bitter roots and is used in fevers.

37. Itco imaha, "deer's potato," a *Lacinaria*, was used to cure the deer disease—i. e., rheumatism. The roots were pounded up and boiled, and the infusion rubbed on the affected parts. Some was also drunk. According to Jackson Lewis pâsa was used in connection with it and a little sprig of cedar was also put in. Caley Proctor did not mention these accessories.

38. Hitci omâ, "like tobacco," mullen (*Verbascum thapsus*). The roots were boiled and used internally for coughs, but there must be added to them the roots of a plant growing in wet places called

[45] See p. 641.

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"button willow" in English and by the Creeks sáksa imito, "crawfish wood." This last reaches a height of 5 or 6 feet. The identification of this is somewhat doubtful as I showed a piece of mullen to Caley Proctor and he called it waga inhidji and said it was used for shooting pains in the chest and joints. The leaves were boiled and the patient bathed in the infusion while it was still hot. 757.

39. Tcokiliba, the elderberry (*Sambucus canadensis*). The tender roots of this plant were pounded up, stirred into hot water, and bound on the breast of a woman suffering from a swollen breast. If the roots can not be gotten, the skin scraped off of the stalk may be employed.

40. Katco lâko, "big briar," the greenbriar (*Smilax*). The roots of this plant, which are exceedingly hard, are pounded up, boiled, and the liquid poured over ulcers, particularly ulcers on the legs.

41. Ahâlobaktsi, or Halobâktci, *Gnaphalium obtusifolium*, was used, according to Jackson Lewis, in cases of mumps. A great many leaves were collected, even in winter when they are dried up, a strong infusion was made by boiling them in water, cloths were dipped in this, a little lard added, and the whole tied around the throat. According to Caley Proctor this was put with several other medicines, among which he mentioned atcīna, miko hoyanīdja, pāsa, wīlana, and kofutcka lâko, to add a perfume. They were boiled by themselves, and the infusion drunk when one was unable to keep anything upon the stomach. The patient also bathed in the liquid. To cure bad colds the tops were boiled, the odor inhaled, and the infusion drunk. The faces and heads of old people were bathed in it and some drunk when they could not rest well and woke up with a start as soon as they had fallen asleep.

42. Iswiani tcaitcga, "a purgative" (the only name known) (*Euphorbia*?). This is a small weed with small smooth leaves, and bears a bunch of flowers at the top. When broken it exudes a little milk. The roots are taken in an infusion to bring on an action of the bowels and it is a very violent remedy.

43. Wiso, sassafras (*Sassafras variifolium*). This was used as a medicine but I have no information as to how it was employed.

44. Puya fiktca hiliswa, "spirit medicine," is a weed a foot high which produces a little yellow fruit just where the leaf comes away from the stalk. This is said to be very fine for rheumatism and it is declared that it will cure gonorrhea. A bundle of roots is taken sufficiently large to fill the palm in the space inclosed by the thumb and second finger when the tips are brought together.

45. Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens*). Jackson Lewis knew no native name for this plant. It is good for women with urinary troubles or having pains about the small of the back. The person taking this medicine must not eat butter, milk, or bacon.

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•757 46. Afâla oma, "like the ivy," the woodbine (*Parthenocissus*). The root of this is good medicine in cases of gonorrhea. Its use was learned from the Comanche.

47. Stilâst iga ("black man's medicine"), a plant with a yellow flower popularly known as "nigger head." The roots were boiled and used in cases of consumption.

48. Pisi hiliswa, "woman's-breast medicine," a plant the roots of which were mashed, mixed with warm water, and applied externally by women suffering from swollen breasts.

49. Ifulo hiliswa, "screech owl medicine," is found far out in the woods, growing in small bunches. An entire bunch was boiled so that the infusion might be as strong as possible. The water then turns red and is good for persons with watery eyes or other chronic eye troubles.

50. Kistowa, known popularly to the whites as "red root," a woody shrub with leaves along the stem and hard, woody, red roots. The roots are cut into long strips and put into a bottle with cold water. Afterwards the infusion is employed when blood is spit from the lungs.

51. Hitci pâkpâgi ("tobacco bloom"), native tobacco, some species of lobelia(?). This is said to grow to a height of about 10 inches, but otherwise to resemble the common tobacco exactly and to have the same kind of flower. Jackson Lewis said that he knew that the Creeks, Yuchi, and Shawnee had this but was not aware of its existence among any other Indians. It is of rare occurrence and very highly valued. Traditionally this plant was with the Creeks from the very beginning, and it is supposed to be older than the smoking tobacco. Nevertheless Tuggle seems to have preserved a myth recounting its origin.[46a] It derives its name from the fact that the flowers were the part used in medicine, four of them being generally placed in the pot. It was used in all kinds of cases, sometimes when a person was sick to the point of delirium, and it was used to ward off ghosts. Incidental references to this medicine have been made in other places.

The following medicines were described to me by Caley Proctor:

52. Awanhi hiliswa. This plant grows to a height of about 3 feet and bears a yellow flower. It is not used externally, but the roots are boiled and the infusion drunk to cure an enlarged spleen.

53. Yelungâdjâdi hiliswa, a species of *Stillingia*, is a plant about a foot and a half tall and has a bushy top with no blossom, or probably an inconspicuous one. The roots were mashed and boiled and a woman who had just given birth to a child drank the liquid and was bathed in it. A woman suffering from irregular periods bathed in this, prepared with the addition of devil's shoestring.

[46a] See p. 569.

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54. Fatdjâdji has a bunchy top, small yellow flowers, and short, very white roots. These last were boiled in water and the mixture drunk hot in cases of flux. When a small baby is very weak it is made to drink some of this and it is bathed in it.

55. Totkop lâko, a species of *Impatiens*, is boiled with kofûtcka lâko and spicewood and the mixture drunk hot in cases of dropsy. The patient also bathes in it.

56. Nuti hiliswa, "tooth medicine," yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*), was used, as its name implies, to cure any sort of toothache.

For some diseases objects shaped like the old atasa or war club were put into medicines. A white man long acquainted with the Indians said that one kind of treatment was to pour great quantities of cold water over the patient. Liver complaint is called in Creek wi'ak wiligi.

Alabama Medicines

57. Nâtikâca litci, "cooler of the teeth," *Zanthoxylum americanum* Mill., popularly known as "prickly ash." The inside bark was beaten up and some of it was inserted into the cavity in an aching tooth, while more was placed around it and the whole wrapped up in a cloth. If a person itched all over, some was boiled in a pot and rubbed over him. When a man was out hunting and his dog did not follow the trail well he would sometimes put some of this bark into cold water and rub the dog's nose with it to improve his scent.

58. Hâk-himbâlka, "wild goose's berries," *Callicarpa americana*, popularly called the French mulberry. The roots and limbs were put into a pot together, boiled, and then poured into a big pan. This was then placed beside a person suffering from malarial fever ("sick one day and well the next") in a sweat house made like that of the Creeks. After he had perspired all over he came out and was bathed in water. The treatment was repeated until the patient was cured. Sometimes the pan was placed beneath the chair of a person having rheumatism and blankets were then fastened about him. This was also to induce perspiration and it was repeated four times if necessary. Slow fever was treated in the same manner but my informant assured me that it was unsuccessful in such cases, as he himself had tried it.

59. Comali, a species of *Meibomia*, the popular name of which is "tick trefoil." A bad state of the lungs or sometimes a bad cold was cured by drinking a tea made of this before breakfast and then vomiting it up.

60. Ahisi lâksa, "bitter or strong medicine," *Gnaphalium obtusifolium* L., popularly known as "rabbit tobacco."[a] Lâksa indicates a taste between bitter and sour. This was often used mixed with other medicines, but my informant did not know what. It was used, furthermore, when a man was nervous, woke up frequently, and

[a] There is doubt of this, as the same name is given to all *Antennaria*, popularly known as "pussy toes."

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•757 wanted to run away. It was then boiled in water along with cedar and the face of the patient washed in it until he got well. This sickness was thought to be brought on by ghosts and the medicine was intended to drive them off. Another way to effect the same end was by burning this plant and cedar together.

61. Hâtăcipa, or Hâthăcipâ, a species of *Solidago*, popularly known as "goldenrod." A tea was made out of the roots and drunk to cure a bad cold. Sometimes the root, which is bitter, was put into the cavity in a tooth to stop the ache.

62. Yenasa imilpa, "buffalo eat it," *Ceanothus americanus* L., the popular name of which is "New Jersey tea." The roots were boiled in water for two or three hours, the whole allowed to cool, and then it was used to bathe the feet or legs of one who had been injured in those members. This was done three times a day for one week, two weeks, or even for a month—i. e., until the injury was healed.

63. Wâsâko'tcī, a species of *Vaccinium*, the blueberry. It was used as a remedy for many different ailments but my informant did not know what these were.

64. Nita imilpa, "bears eat it," has black berries. It was used for the same purposes as the Nâtikăca litcī and in the same way. A poultice was made from it and applied in cases of pneumonia.

65. Ito hici' kocōma, "fragrant leaves," the sweet bay (*Myrica*). This was put into a big pot along with another medicine, perhaps cedar, and boiled. It was then administered to a person after a burial had taken place in order to secure him from disease. He did not retain it in his stomach, but went outside and vomited it up, after which he could eat.

66. Omăgăga, "open eyes," *Ascyrum multicaule*, popular name "St. Peter's-wort." When one had a bad case of dysentery these plants were put into a pot entire and boiled for a long time, and the infusion taken cold four or five times a day. In two or three days the patient would get better. It derives its name from the fact that a tea was also made from it with which to wash out the eyes.

67. Hăcă'lăpo. The twirling stick used in producing fire in ancient times was made from this. A tea was made from the stalk and leaves of it, and given internally and externally to a person suffering from a disease locally known as "the itch," which seems to be prickly heat, shingles, or something of the kind.

68. Tcūyi, the pine. The inside bark of pine saplings was boiled in water and drunk to cure flux.

69. Ahisi home, "bitter medicine." The roots and the inside bark of the stalk were beaten up and put into water. After soaking thoroughly the medicine was tied up in a clean cloth and placed over any part of the body where a pain was felt, which it relieved, although it raised a blister. It was also put against the cheek outside of an aching tooth in order to destroy the pain—sometimes into the cavity of the tooth itself.

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70. Itichálōkpa, the holly (*Ilex*). The inside bark was scraped off and boiled for a long time, perhaps four hours, in water, after which it was applied to sore eyes as a wash. It was administered three or four times a day.

71. Łatco, red oak. The bark was boiled, and in the morning before food had been taken the infusion was drunk and then vomited out by a person afflicted with lung trouble. It was sometimes used to wash bad smelling sores that had broken out on the feet or the head. When children old enough to walk were too weak to do so, red oak bark, tree moss, omágāga, and oyimpák'o (tall bushes which grow near rocks) were mashed up together and boiled in a pot and the whole used as a wash. Sometimes a doctor was employed in connection with this; sometimes not. Boiled red-oak bark was also resorted to in cases of sore throat.

72. Tákáctaya, or Ťakāstāyà, *Cercis canadensis* L., popularly known as the "redbud" or "Judas tree." The roots and inside bark were put into a small bucket with water where they were sometimes conjured by the doctor and sometimes not. The mixture was then drunk from four to six times a day to cure a kind of "congestion" which causes one to become hot all over and is soon fatal if not checked.

73. Ahisi hátka, "white medicine," perhaps gińseng. The roots were broken off and the milk that comes from them rubbed on sores.

74. Bákca, bark of the slippery elm (*Ulmus fulva*). When a woman was in labor and the delivery was delayed this was sometimes administered to her after it had been boiled in water along with gunpowder. The reasons assigned involve sympathetic magic.

75. Ilopotle, "acting on or moving [the bowels]," *Sebastiana ligustrina* (Michx.) Muell. The roots of this were chewed to produce a movement of the bowels.

76. Dropsy was treated as follows: A limb was taken from the east side of each of four trees. These were put into a pot of water and boiled and the patient given a sweat bath. When he perspired profusely all over, he was washed in the same medicine and dressed in clean clothes. The same thing was repeated three times every day until he got well. Every morning, while this was going on, the doctor came and blew into the medicine. It was done for four successive days and if the treatment was ineffective it was repeated.

77. White-flour corn. To treat slow fever they pounded up four kernels of flour corn, mixed them with water, and poured the whole through a sieve held over the patient's head until all was gone. Next day the doctor did the same thing over again, calling upon the North, West, South, and East, blowing into the medicine and pouring it over the patient. Afterwards the patient's body was rubbed in order to bleach it, and that is why the white flour corn was used.

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In this way the soul of the sick man which was supposed to have gone up to the sky was recalled to its body.

78. Itco intcastuge, "deer's peas," *Erythrina herbacea*. The roots were pounded up, put into water, and the infusion drunk cold by a woman who had pains in the bowels.

79. Kàtsgimilpa, "catfish eat it," or "catfish food." This is the famous "black drink" or "cassine" (*Ilex vomitoria*) referred to by all early writers on the southern Indians. The Creeks commonly called it àsi, meaning simply "leaves," but sawàtcka is said by some to have been the true name.[46a] However, there appears to be some difference of opinion about this. I did not learn of any strictly medicinal purpose to which it was put by either the Alabama or the Creeks, though it was daily employed by the old people in early days to clear out the system and produce ceremonial purity. That it was supposed to possess more specific curative properties is shown by the following quotation from Adair:

"The Yopon, or Cusseena, is very plenty, as far as the salt air reaches over the low lands. It is well tasted, and very agreeable to those who accustom themselves to use it; instead of having any noxious quality, according to what many have experienced of the East-India insipid and costly tea, it is friendly to the human system, enters into a contest with the peccant humours, and expels them through the various channels of nature: it perfectly cures a tremor in the nerves." [47]

A toothache medicine was known to an old woman, now dead, living among the Alabama in Texas but belonging herself to the Biloxi or Pascagoula tribe. It is said to be only a few inches tall and to have a red blossom. Mrs. James McKee, wife of the farmer with whom I boarded while in Texas, told me that "old Sally," as this woman was called, had cured a toothache for her almost instantly by putting some of the root of this plant into the cavity. The first application was accompanied by intense pain which soon disappeared and never returned. Apparently the nerve had been killed. Afterwards she asked the old woman repeatedly to show her the plant but the latter refused to do so lest it should lose its efficacy.

Natchez Medicines

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The following medicines were enumerated to me by one of the few surviving Natchez Indians. As the latter are living among the Cherokee it is probable that they are as much Cherokee as Natchez, and indeed for some of them I could obtain only the Cherokee names. Unless otherwise stated, the native name is in Natchez.

80. Cherokee name kowaya yūst', "syphilis medicine," a species of *Ascyrum* popularly known as St. Andrew's cross. A tea was made from it and given to children unable to pass urine.

[46a] Possibly sawàtcka is from àsi, "leaves," and awotaltcita, "to make vomit," or sawotka, "emetic."
[47] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 361.

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When a man became sick at the stomach and vomited it was believed that a dead person had been eating out of the same dish with him. 753

Water from certain springs was also used as a remedy. There is a prairie in the Cherokee Nation formerly known as Medicine Spring Prairie (Gun ŏm gunâts) but now called Greenleaf Prairie (Tsu otol hăyăp). The medicine spring from which it was originally named is 4 miles east of Braggs and the water is good for rheumatism, fevers, backache, headache, pains in the breast or stomach, weak or sore eyes, and has especial value for children. The water makes one belch a great deal, and "when you first drink it you do not like it but after a time you get used to it and think it the finest water in the world." 757 312

In the mountains 5 or 6 miles farther east is another spring with the very same kind of water, and a third 2 to 3 miles above Gore, on the bank of the Illinois River. A long time ago the Indians used to throw things into these.

To these may be added some mention of medicines by early writers. Adair speaks of an aquatic plant, probably a species of yellow flowered water lily (*Nymphaea*), the seeds of which were used as food. After noting this fact he continues: "It is a sort of marsh-mallows, and reckoned a speedy cure for burning maladies, either outward or inward—for the former, by an outward application of the leaf; and for the latter, by a decoction of it drank plentifully." He adds that the Choctaw called one of their head towns by its name.[48] 757

Swan says: "The cassia fistularius, or pod of the wild locust, which grows here in abundance, furnishes them late in autumn with a kind of sweetmeats, which they gather and bring home wherever they can find it; and it is esteemed a good antidote in the complaints of their children."[49] It is quite certain that this is in reality the honey locust (*Gleditsia triacanthos*).

After mentioning whooping cough and worms as diseases from which Creek children frequently suffered Bartram says: "But (besides their well-known remedy, *Spigelia anthelmintica*), to prevent the troublesome and fatal effects of this disease, they use a strong *lixivium* prepared from ashes of bean-stalks and other vegetables, in all their food prepared from corn (*zea*), which otherwise, they say, breeds worms in their stomachs."[50]

Below we read: "The vegetables which I discovered to be used as remedies, were generally very powerful cathartics. Of this class are several species of the *Iris*, viz, *Ir. versicolor*, *Ir. verna*. And for the same purpose they have a high estimation of a species of either *Croton* or *Styllingia*, I am in doubt which." He adds that this last

[48] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 410. I have been unable to identify the name of the town.
[49] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[50] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 43.

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had been used very successfully by a white physician in North Carolina "in curing the *yaws*." [51]

Still farther on he says: "Several species of *Smilax*, the woody vines of *Bignonia crucigera*, some of the *bays* (*laurus*), are of great account with the Indians as remedies . . .

"The caustic and detergent properties of the white nettle (roots) of Carolina and Florida (*Jatropha urens*), used for cleansing old ulcers and consuming proud-flesh, and likewise the dissolvent and diuretant powers of the root of the convolvulus panduratus [*Ipomoea pandurata*], so much esteemed as a remedy in nephritic complaints, were discovered by the Indians to the inhabitants of Carolina." [52]

One or two other items may be added from notes taken by the Agent Eakins from an Alabama Indian:

"The big prairie-weed is used as an emetic, taken as a tea. For cathartics they have a number of roots and weeds, prepared as a tea . . . They have two modes of treating eruptions of the skin: First, the external application of a decoction of herbs; and, Secondly, by steaming with the same decoction. The cause of their known and general failure to treat small-pox, or varioloid, is, First, their limited knowledge of the nature of the disease; and, Secondly, their belief that it is contagious prevents their administering for its cure. In no cases, whatever, do men assist in parturition. After parturition, they use a simple root or weed. For paralysis, their treatment is not, in all cases, successful, which is generally by roots or herbs. They use the vapor bath efficaciously." [53]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Through the kindness of Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., I am able to add the following notes regarding a Creek busk witnessed by the artist J. M. Stanley and Mr. Sumner Dickerman in the summer of 1843, the year after the busk described by General Hitchcock. They were contained in a letter written at "Bayou Menard, Cherokee Nation, August 4, 1843," by Mr. Dickerman and printed in a newspaper, and give little more than an account—a very good one nevertheless—of the women's dance. The town was probably Tukabahchee, but this is uncertain. Mr. Dickerman, as well as his companion, seems to have had some artistic ability, since the services of both gentlemen were utilized by the Indians in painting a banner for the occasion. "On one side was painted the American Eagle, with the motto, 'E Pluribus Unum,' and the thirteen stars; on the other the crossed pipes, hatchet, and clasped hands, with the motto of 'Peace and Friendship.'" After Mr. Dickerman had run this up on a pole about 21 feet high, at one corner of the square, the Indians took it down and inverted it so that the eagle might be seen from the inside of the square as the wind was then blowing.

Mr. Dickerman describes the ceremonial ground as measuring "about 35 feet square," and says, "on each side is a small house with open front, facing the interior, and an entrance from each end of the house. Seats were arranged in

[51] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., p. 44.
[52] Ibid., pp. 44-47.
[53] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 274.